



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 114th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 161

WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 2015

No. 139

Senate

The Senate met at 10:30 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. HATCH).

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

O God, our mighty fortress, the source of all that is good, hallowed be Your Name. Lord, empower Your Senators to accomplish Your good in our world, leading them on the path of humility. Give them courage to live their faith so that people will see their positive contributions and glorify Your Name. Enable our lawmakers to respect and love each other unconditionally, even as You have so loved us. May they set apart sacred time to be with You.

Thank You for the gifts of life, love, and laughter that You provide us throughout life's seasons. Lord, fill all our hearts to overflowing with Your transformative love.

We pray in Your loving Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The President pro tempore led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CASSIDY). Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

TRIBUTE TO JOHN BOEHNER

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, grace under pressure; country and institution before self. These are the things that come to mind when I think of JOHN BOEHNER. He is an ally, he is a friend, and he took over as Republican leader at a very difficult time for his party.

When some said Republicans could never recover, he never gave up. When some gave into defeatism, he kept up the fight. And because he did, Speaker BOEHNER was able to transform a broken and dispirited Republican minority into the largest Republican majority since the 1920s. That is a legacy few can match.

He flew across the country more times than he can count to support Members of his conference and to recruit new Members to the cause. As the leader of a new majority, he turned the tide in Congress and brought conservative reform in many areas. He worked tirelessly to provide hope to those who dreamed of a better life and to middle-class families who struggled under the weight of this administration.

JOHN knows what it is like to struggle and to dream of something better. He has lived it. That a young man from Reading, OH, wielding a bar towel could one day wield the gavel of the U.S. House of Representatives reminds us of the continuing promise of this country.

We all know yesterday was an incredibly important event for the Speaker. It was his aim to bring the same spirit of grace to others that has always guided his life. One only had to look

out onto the Capitol lawn to see what he achieved. And that he chose this moment to make this decision means he is willing to leave us in a similar spirit.

I know we will all have more to say then. But for now, thank you, my friend.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

TRIBUTE TO JOHN BOEHNER

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I, like most of America, was stunned this morning to learn that JOHN BOEHNER is going to resign in the next few weeks. I have had a relationship with JOHN BOEHNER for a long time. His becoming Speaker, of course, made those relations much more close.

I have not always agreed, and I wasn't always happy with what JOHN told me, but he never ever misled me. He never told me something that wasn't true, and I accepted that. I got to where I understood JOHN BOEHNER very well. His word was always good.

JOHN and I had a lot of dealings—so-called back-channel meetings. Everyone knows that a lot of things we do are not in the public eye. And certainly some things we worked on together perhaps wouldn't have worked out very well in the public eye, but there were things we had to do to get things done.

I had a very good relationship with JOHN BOEHNER. My staff got along with his. He has had two chiefs of staff and they have both been terrific to work with. My staff has reached out to them on so many occasions in very difficult times, and they had a good relationship.

I have no doubt that everything JOHN BOEHNER has done has been done with the fact in mind that he was doing his best for the people of his district in

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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Ohio and for our country. He had a very difficult job.

I know the Presiding Officer served under JOHN BOEHNER and so he knows what a tough job he had. He had this faction, that faction, another faction, and a couple more. But ousting a man like JOHN BOEHNER—a good man like JOHN BOEHNER. JOHN BOEHNER is a conservative Republican, but his problem is that JOHN BOEHNER has been pragmatic. He has realized there comes a time when you have to make a deal.

I say to the Presiding Officer and everyone within the sound of my voice, although I didn't know General Eisenhower, President Eisenhower—never met him, never saw him—but I was here when Ronald Reagan was President and he had conservative credentials. Ronald Reagan was somebody who understood the art of compromise. Who else could have worked out something with the Soviet Union? I am not sure there is anybody, but Ronald Reagan was able to do that.

I am so concerned. I am seeing the Republican Party—not the party of Dwight Eisenhower, as I have studied him, or the man Ronald Reagan as I knew him. I just think it is very, very sad the Tea Party Caucus the Republican leaders have embraced to win in 2010, I guess, now have taken over control of the party.

To say I will miss JOHN BOEHNER is a tremendous understatement. I looked out for him in ways I could, and he looked out for me in the ways he could. I will always consider JOHN BOEHNER my friend, and I look forward to working with him until he leaves. I understand it is going to be in late October, but I will continue to work with him, as I have in the past, to do what I think is the right thing for the country, as I am confident he will. Hopefully, we will continue someplace in the middle to get things done. I have gotten things done with JOHN BOEHNER that I wasn't happy with, and he wasn't happy with what we had to come up with, but sometimes you do the best you can.

I wish JOHN BOEHNER the very best in the future. Whatever I can do to make his life more pleasant, I will be happy to do that. Whether it is setting up a golf game for him in Las Vegas or helping in some government matter, I will do whatever I can because JOHN BOEHNER, as far as I am concerned, is a good man, and it is a gross underestimate to say I will miss him. I will.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will be

in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONS

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, I rise this afternoon to say a few words about a critical challenge and opportunity facing the United States. For months many of us have been on the floor debating some of the important foreign policy and national security issues that our Nation faces—whether it is Islamic terrorism, ISIS, the President's flawed and dangerous Iran agreement or a resurgent Russia in Europe and the Arctic. The list of these issues is long, and it is growing. But one issue that has not really gotten much attention—I believe the attention that it deserves—and that I would like to speak about this afternoon is the long-term national security and foreign policy consequences of the rise of China.

China's President Xi Jinping is in town right now. He is visiting America. He is going to meet with President Obama on a state visit, and some of us in Congress will have an opportunity to meet with him later today. It is an opportunity to start seriously thinking about the challenges and opportunities that a rising China presents to the world and to the United States.

Perhaps we are not talking about this issue as much as we should on the floor because it doesn't seem to be an immediate issue. It is a bit of a longer term matter. But it is also something that in historical terms is happening so fast. I will give one statistic.

In 1980 China's economy was smaller than that of the Netherlands. Last year, just the incremental growth of China's economy was as large as the Netherlands' economy. They have had incredible growth. But some of our country's most deep and strategic thinkers and historians agree that the rise of China is—over the next decade or two—the paramount issue for us to focus on in the United States.

As far back as 2005, 10 years ago almost to the day, then-Deputy Secretary of State Bob Zellick, who went on to be the president of the World Bank and a former U.S. Trade Representative for the United States, a very strategic thinker, gave what was called the “responsible stakeholders” speech, a very well-renowned speech that people are still reading on U.S.-China relations.

In that speech 10 years ago, he said: “How the United States deals with China's rising power is a central question in American foreign policy.”

Just a few months ago in testimony before the Armed Services Committee, Harvard Professor Graham Allison gave testimony that in many ways is reflected in an article he just published in the Atlantic yesterday on the eve of the visit of the President of China. He states in that article and in his testimony from a couple of months ago:

The preeminent geostrategic challenge of this era is not violent Islamic extremists, or

a resurgent Russia. It is the impact that China's ascendance will have on the U.S.-led national order.

More specifically, Professor Allison writes that “the defining question about global order for this generation is whether China and the United States can escape”—what he refers to as “the Thucydides trap.”

He is referencing the renowned ancient Greek historian.

Professor Allison coined this term to describe the strategic dilemma and dangers that occur when a rising power rivals a ruling power, as when—example he gives in ancient Greece—Athens challenged Sparta in ancient Greece which ultimately led to the Peloponnesian War.

Professor Allison has caught the attention of many, including President Xi Jinping of China, who in a speech just a few days ago in Seattle actually referenced this term—the “Thucydides trap”—when talking about U.S.-China relations. Now, both Professor Allison and President Xi, in his speech, make it clear that conflict between the United States and China is certainly not inevitable, regardless of what he says with regard to the Thucydides trap, and I certainly would agree with that. Professor Allison, however, does appear to draw some very sobering conclusions in his recent article that should make all of us take serious pause. He concludes in his article written yesterday: “War between the U.S. and China is more likely than recognized at the moment.” These are his words, not mine. This is one of the most distinguished professors of international relations in the United States.

I think these words underscore the need for those of us in the Senate to give due attention to the importance of the U.S.-China relationship and the attendant risks of Graham Allison's Thucydides trap.

Fortunately, I believe we are well-positioned as an institution in the Senate to do this. In the Federalist Papers, Madison talks about one of the roles of the U.S. Senate with its Members having 6-year terms to be able to ensure lasting relations between the United States and other nations through the institution of the Senate. Perhaps more than any other part of the Federal Government, this institution has the opportunity to think strategically and act for the long-term interests of our country.

Fortunately, we also have many experts, historians, professors, and practitioners, whether it is people such as Bob Zoellick or Graham Allison or Henry Kissinger or a new generation of scholars, such as Mike Green at CSIS, who have been thinking about these issues—the Asia-Pacific, the rise in China—for decades. Their articles, books, and speeches are critical to devising national strategies to advance America's interests in the region.

This is a long-term endeavor for all of us. It is imperative that it remains on our radar screens through the